1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

ments to the government; the amount of these payments did not exceed the 25 percent of the crop paid in rent, but as an owner, the farmer was responsible for taxes and other charges. The financial benefits of ownership would thus not accrue to the new owner until the entire purchase price was paid off in ten years. The sale was important and contributed to the landownership of a few former tenant families in Hsin Hsing. However, it was far less important and attracted less interest than the Land-to-the-Tiller Act which went into effect in 1953 (Chang, 1954: 60–61).

The Land-to-the-Tiller Act of 1953

Under the act, the government was given authority to expropriate the land of landlords and to create owner-farmers. Basically, it provided for government purchase of certain tenant-cultivated lands for the purpose of resale to the tenant-cultivators. In the Hsin Hsing village area, where most of the land is of medium grade, most landlords could retain a maximum of three *chia* (7.2 acres) of paddy land or six *chia* (14.4 acres) of dry (nonirrigated) land. The purchase price of the expropriated land was "fixed at 250 per cent of the total annual main crop yield (the standard volume of main crop as stated in the earlier 37.5 per cent rent contract). Of the purchase price, 70 per cent paid to the landlord is in land bonds and 30 per cent in government enterprise stockshares" (Chang, 1954:65).

The government's "resale price" of the land to the former tenant "is the same as the purchase price, plus a 4 per cent interest per annum and is to be amortized by the purchaser in ten equal annual installments" (Chang, 1954:65–66). Former tenants make a total of twenty semiannual payments, one after each harvest. The payments can be in rice for paddy land, or in cash for dry land, based on the current value of sweet potatoes. According to the law, "the average annual burden to be borne by the purchaser shall not exceed the burden on the same grade of land presently borne by the tenant farmer under the 37.5 per cent rent reduction program" (T'ang, 1954:190).

There was a general restriction written into the Land-to-the-Tiller Act to prevent the reaccumulation of land by large landholders or the manipulation and shifting of ownership of land reform land. It stipulates that "any purchaser who has acquired land under this Act shall not transfer the land to any other person before the purchase price is fully paid; transfer of land, after its purchase price is fully paid, shall be permitted only when the transferee can till the land himself or can use it for industrial purposes" (T'ang, 1954:191, translation of the Law, Chapter IV, Article 28). This means that technically there is no limitation on the amount of land that may be purchased and accumulated, except that the purchaser must have the ability to cultivate it.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Hsing villagers had been reduced to slightly over 18 *chia*. Almost 4 *chia* of the privately owned portion of tenant land had been sold by the owners to their Hsin Hsing tenants after the 1951 Rent Reduction Act (and before the 1953 act of expropriation). More than 2 *chia* of public land, eight plots rented to four Hsin Hsing villagers, were made available to these farmers for purchase over a ten-year period by virtue of the 1951 Land Act which governed the sale of public farmlands. And in 1953, under the Land-to-the-Tiller Act, the government purchased an additional 13.5 *chia* (in forty-six plots) of privately

TABLE 16

AREAS AND TYPES OF LAND CULTIVATED BY 90 HSIN HSING HOUSEHOLDS AFTER LAND REFORM, 1957

	Paddy field	Dry field	Total (*chia*)	Percent (*chia*)
Owner-cultivated	42.2345	2.6938	44.9283	73.4
Tenanted	14.9100	1.3825	16.2925	26.6
Total	57.1445	4.0763	61.2208	100.0
Percentage	93.5	6.7	—	—

TABLE 17

AREAS OF CULTIVATED LANDS IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE BEFORE AND AFTER IMPLEMENTATION OF LAND-TO-THE-TILLER PROGRAM

	Before implementation		After implementation (1957 records)	
	Area (*chia*)	Percent	Area (*chia*)	Percent
Owner-cultivated	25.8	41.9	44.9	73.4
Tenanted	35.7	58.1	16.3	26.6
Total	61.5	100.0	61.2	100.0

owned Hsin Hsing tenant land from the landlords and made it available to the 33 former tenants for eventual ownership. One of these 33 families had also purchased public land under the 1951 act.

With the completion of the Land Reform Program of 1953, the land tenure picture for Hsin Hsing village had changed radically. According to the September, 1957, records, as a direct or indirect[8] result of the land reform, the amount of land leased by villagers was reduced by almost 55 percent from 35.7 *chia* of land in 1949 to 16.29 *chia* in 1957. Whereas in 1949 land leased by villagers had represented 58.1 percent of the total cultivated land, by 1957 it was reduced to 26.6 percent of the total. (See Tables 13, 14, 16, and 17.) (See Map 4 for distribution of village landholdings.)

423 piece for a .009 chia piece plus a sum of cash, and was the culmination of a two-year negotiation process.

311 243 The registered plot sizes are not directly related to the size of the paddy fields. Larger plots may be divided into two or more fields and some smaller plots are combined into one field. Both the extreme fragmentation and the narrowness of the terraces contribute to the small size of paddies. Correlated with the small size is the complete absence of gasoline-powered cultivators which have become so popular on the plains. This degree of fragmentation does not permit the most efficient use of the land. The government has begun a program of land consolidation in other parts of the island (Department of Information, Taiwan Provincial Government, 1962:78-83). Although villagers are aware of the program and believe it would be a valuable step for the village, everyone fears he would not get a reasonable share in a government-ordered consolidation, i.e., he would give up pieces more valuable than he would receive. Although theoretically the process should be seen as a zero-sum game, no villager can be found who thinks he would be a winner or even break even.

311 423 659

423 Prior to the above-discussed land consolidation, Taiwan underwent an extensive land reform program which proceeded through three steps. The first step was rent reduction, enforced in April of 1949, which limited farm

128 602 village populations. Finally, the structure and function of larger agnatic units are considered.

Family versus Household

592 According to Lang, the economic family, the chia, is a "unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage, or adoption, and having a common budget and common property" (1946:13). The chia is sometimes contrasted with the household, the hu, which could include such temporary residents as more distant relatives, servants, or workers. If common-law marriages are included along with regular marriage since they are so accepted in the village, the chia and hu are always identical in Sanlei Ts'un. Both the Sanlei villagers and I agree that the chia and hu in Sanlei are identical, consisting of the group who live together, share economics, and cook and eat together as a regular practice.

Household Registration

217 659 Formal population registration is required for all people in Taiwan. Sanlei records are maintained in the township office in Hsin Tien. The record, which is maintained by hu as the unit of registration, includes an identification number, the address of the family, the name of the head of the household (chia chang), and a brief history of the family including such information as relocations, divisions, etc. For each individual in the

217 family, there is listed an identification number, rela-
659 tionship to the chia chang of the household,[2] birth order differentiated by sex such as second daughter or first son, date of birth, spouse's name, father's name, mother's name, occupation, amount of education, and personal history such as date of marriage and spouse's name, reasons why someone leaves or joins the household, cause of death, army induction and discharge records, etc. A household registration certificate is kept in each household to which a personal registration card is related for each member of the household.

It is required by law that all status changes which would affect these records be reported to the township office. Such changes include the relocation of the family, births, deaths, adoptions in or out, marriage in or out, [127] family division, etc. However, the records are only of limited value to an anthropologist or demographer because of the many discrepancies and their incompleteness.

Although false registration is a violation of the law, a major problem in using records is caused by the fact that people are not living in the household in which they are registered. Once every five years or so, during a single night, the government conducts a major census and checks registrations. Except for census takers and some necessary vital personnel, military, police, medical, etc., everyone is restricted to their official registered homes.

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

For the two days preceding and the two days following the census, the transportation system for the entire island is overloaded with people traveling to and from their official residences and the place where they actually reside.

There are various reasons for the failure to register significant changes. Since an old cultural value maintains it is best not to bring yourself to the attention of government officials for any reason, registration acts are avoided because they necessitate contact with government officials. Another error derives from the prestige associated with the large extended family, ta chia ting. A family may actually have divided with one branch migrating to the city, but if the division is not officially registered, the family can maintain a pretense that the move is temporary and the family has not really divided. Conversely, there were two factors causing some families to divide on paper but not in fact in spite of the high values associated with the extended family. By dividing into smaller units, they hoped to retain land in the various land reform processes and further, hoped to obtain draft deferments. The confusion and misinformation which was rampant at the time of the various "Land Reform Laws" caused a final form of over-registration. Some small landlords who lived in the city or a town migrated to the village officially, on paper but not in fact, in order to

659 maximize the possibility of retaining their land. In
183 summary there is both under-registration and over-
219 registration and although the absolute number of people by actual residence and official records is quite similar, they differ considerably in specific characteristics. Total Sanlei errors are similar to these found in a sample survey of a community north of Taipei: 11% registered but not living in the community and 5% living in the community without registering (P.K.C. Liu, 1967:17).

219 Information regarding individuals is also frequently
183 inaccurate; the categories of education and occupation are
388 the most misleading. Birth and death records are quite
[27] good. Marriages are official only if recorded, but several common-law marriages have been recognized by participants and fellow villagers although the couple are only listed as "living together" in the official records. Common-law marriages may be legalized eventually, in one case after 13 years. In one extreme case a "Liao" separated from his wife who still lives in a nearby village. He has been living with a different woman in Sanlei Ts'un for the past 23 years and they are listed in the records as just living together. They have six children, each registered under the woman's surname with the space for father's name left blank. About two to three months after birth, the man officially adopted each child, changing the surname to Liao. Practically, the couple behave as if

794 796 62 [345] out village sentiment on issues between meetings. They may hire shamans or priests for an affair, a puppet show, or a Taiwanese opera, get police permission for the event, etc. After the budget is estimated, its cost is distributed to households on a basis of ability to pay in the informal process previously discussed and each assistant potmaster is responsible for collecting in his own lin. The final accounting of collections and disbursements is posted on the temple bulletin board but the accounting is never quite wholly accurate as wealthier families have paid somewhat more than is listed while some poor people are listed as contributors although they gave nothing in [435] order to protect everyone from embarrassment. Contributions for a major event usually range from $10.00 to $200.00.

796 794 [659] After the ceremony is over, people talk about how good the festival was. Entertainment usually lasts three days although police permission is difficult to obtain for a third day because the government is promoting austerity [435] [345] in connection with religious celebrations. Entertainment costs are less each succeding day, i.e., an opera costs $2,000.00 the first day, $1,400.00 the second, and $1,200.00 the third. People also discuss whether the committee has spent too much of the collection on food and drink for their committee meetings.

There are two major events each year which receive this full treatment, the Matsu procession and New Years.